

From Hillforts to *Oppida* in ‘Celtic’ Iberia

MARTÍN ALMAGRO-GORBEA

PRE-ROMAN URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN IBERIA is becoming better known each day (Almagro-Gorbea and Ruiz Zapatero 1993). However, the urban structures of the ‘Celtic’ populations, who according to classical sources and linguistic studies occupied the centre and western areas (Almagro-Gorbea 1993), differ from those of the Tartessian and Iberian Mediterranean peoples (A.A.V.V. 1987), even though there were significant contacts and relations between them. In the ‘Celtic’ areas urban form varied both geographically and diachronically from east to west and from south to north, and contrasts with the conservatism of the northern and mountain zones. This is due to acculturation from the Mediterranean zone leading to ever more complex societies occupying larger and more hierarchical territories.

The essential element in this process of urban development in the interior and western areas of Iberia is the hillfort or ‘castro’ (Madoz 1850; Real Academia Española 1956, 281).¹ The hillfort is not simply an urban concept, but is the physical expression of a range of economic, social and ideological values within a cultural system. It is a centre of population situated in an easily defensible position, reinforced by walls, ramparts or natural topography, enclosing a range of family dwellings. Hillforts control territorial units, within which there is little evidence for social hierarchies. They are regularly found in Galicia and Asturias, where they constitute a key component of the ‘Castro Culture’ (Romero Masiá 1976; Bernejo 1978; Calo 1993; etc.). The name castro has, subsequently, been applied to all upland towns in Portugal and Extremadura, as well as to the mountainous areas of the Meseta (Marqués de Monsalud 1901; Taracena 1929; Cabré 1930; Cabré *et al.* 1950; Monteverde 1958; Llanos *et al.* 1975; González Tablas *et al.* 1986; Esparza 1987; Romero 1991; etc.). It is not, however, used in the Ebro valley, the Levante or in other areas, such as those of

the Urnfields of the north-east or in the later Iberian cultural zone (Ruiz Zapatero 1985, 471–2; Pellicer 1984; Moret 1992; etc.).

The hillfort differs from fortifications without differentiated dwellings and also from Iberian *turres* (Fortea and Bernier 1970). It is also distinct from the more complex proto-urban settlements, like the '*oppida*' in the western Mediterranean and Tartessian areas (A.A.V.V. 1987) or Central Europe (Audouze and Buchsenschutz 1989; Ralston 1992, 141), even though there was a typological and cultural gradation between hillfort and *oppidum*. The term hillfort excludes the big fortifications of the Meseta (Alarcos, El Raso, Ulaca, etc.: Cabré 1930; Cabré *et al.* 1950; Maluquer 1958; Fernández 1986; González Tablas *et al.* 1986; Alvarez 1993) and the Galician 'citanias' (Briteiros, Santa Trega, etc.: da Silva 1986; Calo 1993), whose size and complexity reflect developments at the end of the pre-Roman period.

The siting of a hillfort implies a defensive response by its population. However it is first and foremost a centre which controls a small territory and its resources, and commands communication protecting them against enemies or foreigners (*hostis*). It controlled houses, garden plots and pastures as well as water, roads, mines, etc. Its territorial domination was not exercised in a 'physical' way, but was manifested through *de facto* control. Where possible, this was visual and contingent upon orographic factors, since the limits of its territory are often imposed by the landscape.

The location of the hillfort and its physical characteristics were conditioned by technological and social developments, the availability of raw materials and labour, and the nature of regional building traditions, etc. (Esparza 1987, 238). Thus, walled settlements with adobe houses situated on flat sedimentary land, such as that at Soto de Medinilla (Valladolid) (Palol and Watterberg 1974, 181–2) or Pedro Muñoz (Ciudad Real) (Fernández 1988), must be classed as hillforts. However, they are particularly characteristic of mountainous areas where local stone, such as limestone, granite and schist, are used. Several types of location may be distinguished — hills, hillsides, spurs and peninsulas defined by rivers or the sea. Their height above river or sea-level can easily reach 30 m and has been known to exceed 100 m: proximity of water was not always a prerequisite for their location.

Hillforts are common in all regions, and are normally spaced at not more than 5 to 10 km apart. Their size is dependent upon the cultural grouping to which they belong. The smaller examples are usually the most common, the larger much rarer. They range in size from less than 0.2 ha (Esparza 1987, 239–40; Collado 1990, 103–4; Romero 1991, 198–9) to 5 or 7 ha, or in certain groups, up to 10 ha. At this point they can be considered as *oppida* — the peak of the settlement hierarchy — acting as territorial

centres to which smaller hillforts are subordinate. The most significant demographic index, however, is the size of a hillfort relative to its inhabited hinterland.

The most characteristic feature of a hillfort is its fortification, which always conforms to the terrain (Figure 1). In some cases the fortification was formed by the rear walls of houses, while in others it consisted of substantial ramparts 2 to 5 m wide. These were sometimes reinforced with single or double ditches, 5 to 10 m wide, between 5 and 10 m in front of the rampart. In more mountainous regions 'chevaux de frises' 5 to 25 m wide were situated in front of the ditch or rampart or between both (Harbison 1968; 1971; Esparza 1979; Romero 1991, 210–11). Some hillforts were provided with large fortified turrets and oblique curtain walls (Romero 1991, 203) to increase their strength and enhance the natural topography. Entrances were usually protected by widening the rampart, or creating a sheer vertical face to facilitate defence. Some larger hillforts and *oppida* had re-entrant gates and successive lines of enclosure taking advantage of the terrain.

Cultural evolution

The internal organization of the Meseta hillforts, though little known as yet, seems to have reflected local traditions. In general they are thought to have evolved into more complex settlements in some cases becoming *oppida*. To understand this process, we must bring together evidence from monographs (Cabré 1930; Fernández 1986), local surveys (Romero 1991; Esparza 1987; Collado 1990; Romero *et al.* 1993) and the study of individual features, such as fortifications and houses (Harbison 1968; Esparza 1979).

The hillfort as a nucleus of population is typical of the Iron Age of north-west Iberia (Maluquer 1954, 41–2; Blanco 1959; Romero Masiá 1976; Bermejo 1978; Esparza 1983; Pereira (ed.) 1983; Almagro-Gorbea 1988, 197; Calo 1993; etc.). Its origins lie at the end of the Bronze Age, where rare examples are to be found in Galicia (da Silva 1986, 33–7), the Meseta and Extremadura (Maluquer 1958, 36–7; Almagro-Gorbea and Fernández Galiano 1980; etc.). Its eventual disappearance was a result of the disintegration of its cultural system brought about by the emergence of '*oppida*'. This was the consequence of a process of development which had already begun in the fifth century BC in the Vettonian and Oretanian zones, at around the third century BC in the northern Meseta, and in the first century AD in the Castro Culture of north-western Spain.

The relationship of this process to its socio-cultural context cannot be understood without reference to the cultural sequence. Although Bell Beakers and material of the later phase of the Proto-Cogotas Culture is

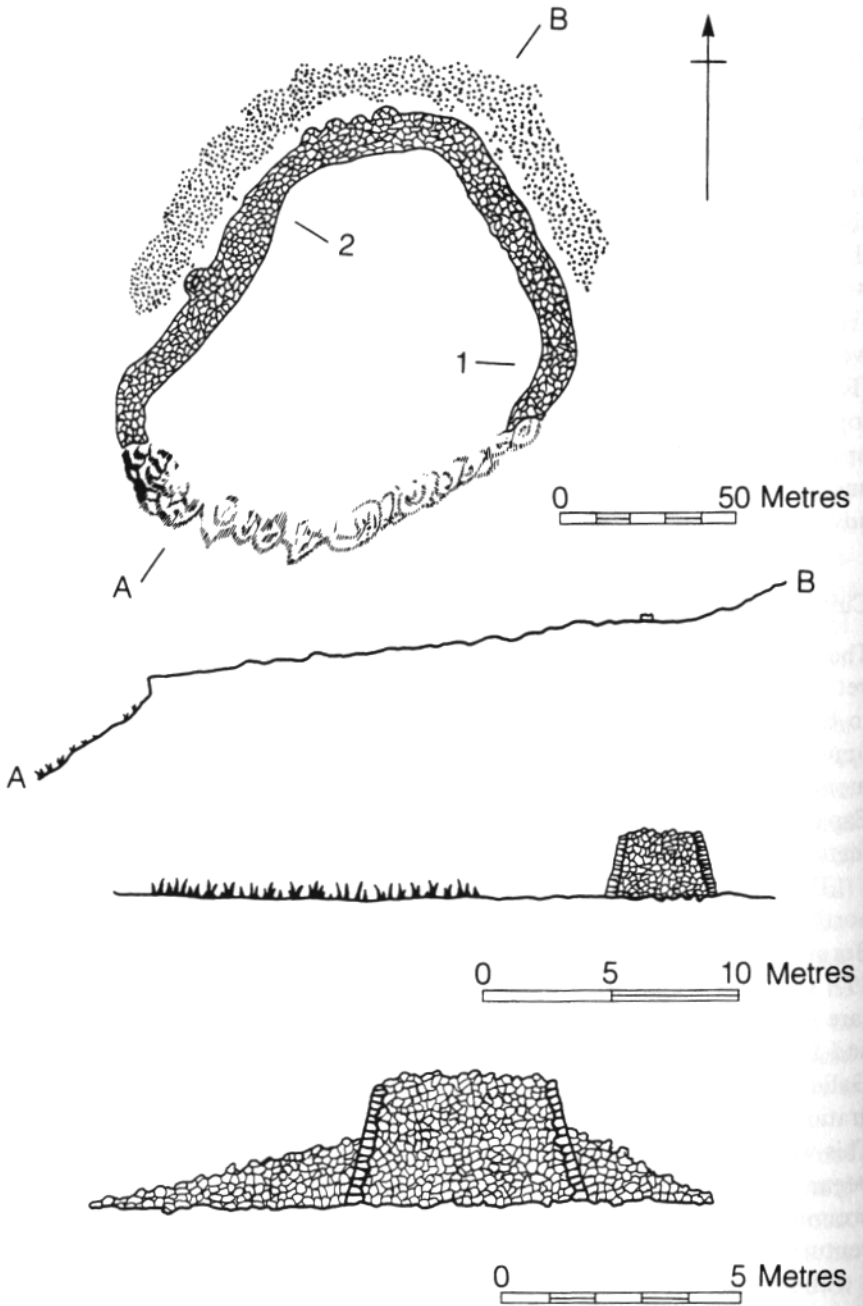


Figure 1. The castro of Valdeavellano de Tera with sections of its fortifications (after Taracena).

known on the sites of some hillforts, such as Las Cogotas, Ecce Homo, Las Tajadas de Bezas, etc., little is known of the settlements to which they belonged. The same is true of the Late Bronze Age phase (twelfth to ninth centuries BC) in the plains and occasionally the mountains of the Meseta, which is characterized by simple settlements and silos, reflecting an agricultural and pastoral economy in which local transhumant ovicaprids predominate (Almagro-Gorbea 1986, 363–4). From the end of the second millennium, metalwork of the Atlantic Bronze Age (Delibes and Fernández Manzano 1990) is found associated with ideological practices such as offerings to water, sun worship on rocks, and the lack of cremation rites (Almagro-Gorbea in press a).

In the Late Bronze Age III period (ninth to seventh centuries BC) new settlements appeared from the Atlantic to the Ebro valley. Some, which were located in fertile river valleys with no apparent defences, may have been built by small isolated groups of farmers (Valiente 1984). Others were located in highlands and can be considered to have been the first hillforts. Both kinds of settlement yield plain pottery, ceramics with incised and excised geometric decoration, and vessels in the Urnfield tradition (Martínez and Arenas 1988; Ruiz Zapatero and Lorrio 1988), as well as ‘elbow’ fibulas and ‘Huelva’-type swords of southern ‘proto-Tartessian’ origin (Almagro-Gorbea 1988, 170–1). In this cultural context round mud-brick houses 4 to 6 m in diameter appear within hillforts. They represent the first evidence of stable habitation, but are not arranged in any apparent order.

These elements are characteristic of the transition from the end of the Bronze Age to the Iron Age, and can be considered to be a heterogeneous substratum stretching from the Meseta to the Atlantic. They coincide with the distribution of archaic Indo-European place-names, retaining the initial P-, and incorporate distinctive social and ideological elements, such as an absence of cremation rites, which distinguish them from the Urnfield Culture (Almagro-Gorbea 1993, 128–9). This substratum can be considered ‘proto-Celtic’ because, although it is somewhat undeveloped, it bears characteristics of the later Celtic culture. The archaicism of these elements suggests that, rather than deriving from the Hallstatt ‘Celtic’ world, they originated from a primitive Indo-European substratum (Almagro-Gorbea 1993, 128).

From the seventh century BC onwards this ‘proto-Celtic’ substratum was fragmented and subsequently absorbed at the time of the emergence of hillforts in the Meseta and the west. In this process, groups of hillforts associated with cremation cemeteries developed in the Iberian Mountain System and in the highlands of the Meseta (Almagro-Gorbea 1987a, 42; Romero 1991; Collado 1990) and continued down to the Roman period.

They can be identified with the 'Celtiberian Culture', since the inhabitants of the region were called *Celtiberians* by the Romans (Strabo 3,4,12-13; Pliny, *NH* 3,4,25-6; Ptolemy 2,6,57). Although it used to be thought that this culture was introduced by the 'Celts', in accordance with the traditional 'invasionist' hypothesis (Bosch Gimpera 1932; 1945; Almagro 1952; Schüle 1969; Lenertz de Wilde 1991; etc.), it is likely to have been the result of a more complex process of formation, involving acculturation and evolution (Almagro-Gorbea 1993). While one should not altogether discount population movement, there is little archaeological evidence for this (Almagro-Gorbea in press a).

The spread of the hillfort phenomenon represents a growing instability. Moreover, demographic growth and control of summer pastures is reflected in the increased use of transhumance to avoid the winter aridity of the Meseta plains and the harsh winters in the mountains (Almagro-Gorbea 1987a, 42; 1987b). This process favoured a hierarchical social organization, evidence for which is provided by grave goods of élite warrior clans (Almagro-Gorbea 1993, 148). It was this, together with an abundance of iron in these regions (Maluquer 1987), which helped to underpin the vigorous expansion of the Celtiberian Culture.

Urban development in Celtic Iberia can be defined in terms of three phases, which differ for each ethno-cultural group.

Phase 1 (seventh-sixth centuries BC), sees the appearance of ironworking and the cremation-rite. It is the essential formative period for the emergence of hillforts and warrior élites. The hillforts contained round houses (Romero 1992) arranged in no apparent order. They are documented in the Sorian mountains (Romero 1991, 144-5), the plains of Carpetania (Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila 1991; Blasco 1986), amongst the proto-Vaccaeian group of Soto de Medinilla of the Duero valley (Romero and Jimeno 1993, 188-9), and as far as the Vettonian zone, which is close to the Vaccaeian group from Salamanca (Benet *et al.* 1991). Similarly, round houses appear in the Asturias-León region of the Esla river (Martín Valls 1974-5) — a transitional zone to the round houses of the north-western 'Castro Culture' (Figure 2). Nor should one forget the contact between the Soto group and such northern areas as northern Burgos (Monte Bernorio), or that between Bureba and Cantabria (Monteverde 1958; Abásolo and García Rozas 1980, 13-14; Parzinger *et al.* 1993; Schulten 1942, 12; San Valero 1966, 16), the plain of Alava (Ugartechea *et al.* 1971, 217-18; Llanos *et al.* 1975, 122-3; Llanos 1981) and La Rioja (Castiella 1977, 154; Romero 1991, 198). All of this confirms the wide distribution of the round house throughout the north-west of the peninsula. These dwellings represent an initial phase in the known hillforts prior to their replacement by rectangular structures (Almagro Gorbea and Dávila 1991),

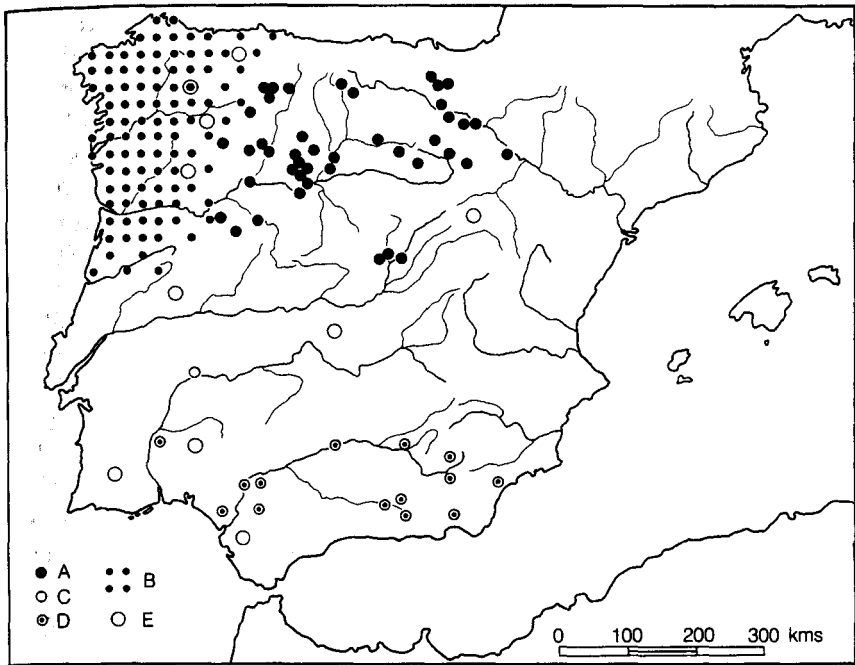


Figure 2. Distribution of circular houses in the Iberian Peninsula. A: Meseta Cultures of the Late Bronze III-Iron Age; B: Galician Castro Culture; C: doubtful; D: Tartessian Late Bronze Age; E: circular house tradition.

although there are exceptions like Zarranzano in the Meseta (Romero 1991, 144), which provides evidence for a more complex transition.

In the Celtiberian area, round houses are thought to be of southern, Tartessian, origin. Bronze metallurgy, painted and incised geometric pottery, the appearance of iron, double-spring brooches and belt clasps, etc. suggest that they date back to the end of the Bronze Age (Almagro-Gorbea 1988; Chaves and Bandera 1991). However, short fronton and antenna swords, spears, round shields, *kardiofilakes* and spiral decorations, etc. (Schüle 1969; Lorrio 1993), provide evidence for a range of influences at work and for the formation of specialized craft skills at the service of the warrior élite. On the other hand offering and storage vessels reflect local traditions of Late Bronze Age origin (Almagro-Gorbea 1993, 148–9).

By contrast, the cremation ritual employing S-profile urns from the Urnfields of the north-east (Ruiz Zapatero 1985), was a change which may be related to the introduction of a clan system, arising from contact with the colonial world (Almagro-Gorbea 1993, 147) but based upon such 'portable' wealth as sheep. Alongside these cultural traits, the concept of the 'closed settlement' and the 'chevaux de frises' were perhaps diffused

westwards from the Ebro valley, reaching the Meseta, but not becoming widespread until a later phase.

Phase 2 (fifth and fourth centuries BC) is characterized by a cultural development and the spread of 'closed settlements' (Moret 1992) (Figure 3). This was parallel to the process of 'iberization' and the spread of 'closed settlements' which is evident in material culture, particularly in the south Meseta where Iberian annular brooches and wheel-turned pottery appear alongside artefacts exhibiting La Tène influence (Almagro-Gorbea 1993, 150–2). The socio-cultural and territorial system based on hillforts achieved maturity, when cremation burials of the warrior élite were accompanied by rich grave goods. However, the Vaccaean, Asturian, Cantabrian and Lusitano-Gallaecian funerary traditions have left no archaeological trace suggesting that they may have been a continuation of the earlier Late Bronze Age cultural substratum (Almagro-Gorbea 1993, 146).

'Closed settlement'-type hillforts tended to become widespread. They contained rectangular houses, whose common rear walls acted as ramparts and tended to be situated on a slope. In the simpler castros, the doors faced inwards towards a central space which, in time, developed into a

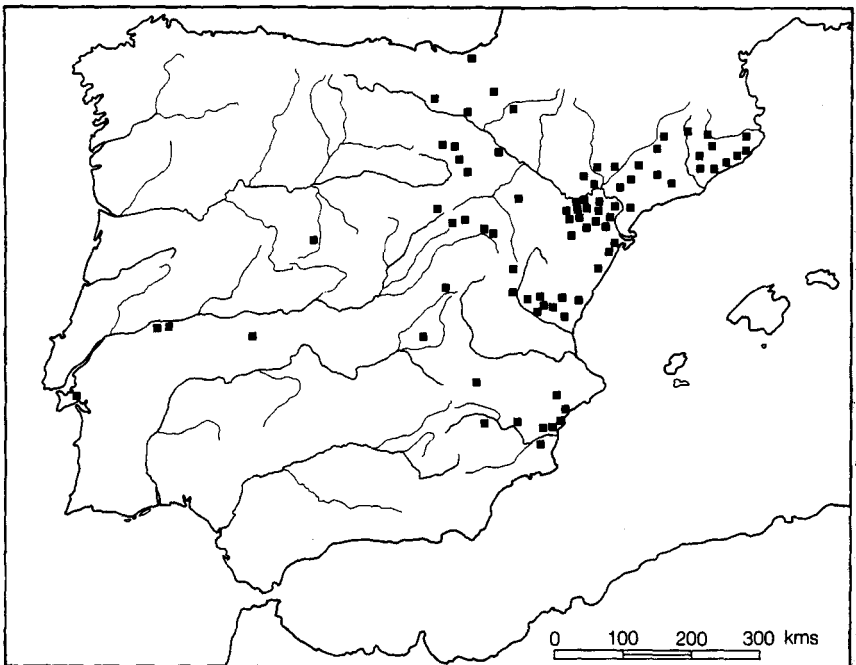


Figure 3. 'Closed villages' and planned settlements in the Iberian Peninsula.

longitudinal street. In the more complex hillforts houses proliferated to the point where they eventually evolved into authentic *oppida*. There appears to have been little social differentiation and few public buildings, with the rectangular houses all being of similar size, usually about 2.5 by 3 to 4 m, to 4 by 8 m (Ruiz Zapatero *et al.* 1986).

The central open space would have been useful for the stalling of flocks, but this would not have excluded other activities. The internal arrangements of the buildings suggest that they followed a preconceived plan. The rectangular house was also an important technical innovation, because it represented an optimization of the interior space. The party walls conserved labour and heating and also contributed to the defensive system. The utility of these innovations explains the wide diffusion of this type of settlement in the east of the peninsula. The changes in the internal organization and shape of the house also implied a transformation in domestic and social life (Ruiz Zapatero *et al.* 1986).

This type of settlement plan is characteristic of the Urnfield settlements of the Ebro valley from the Late Bronze Age onwards (Burillo and Picazo 1993) (Figure 4). That it is associated with 'chevaux de frises', at Els Vilars

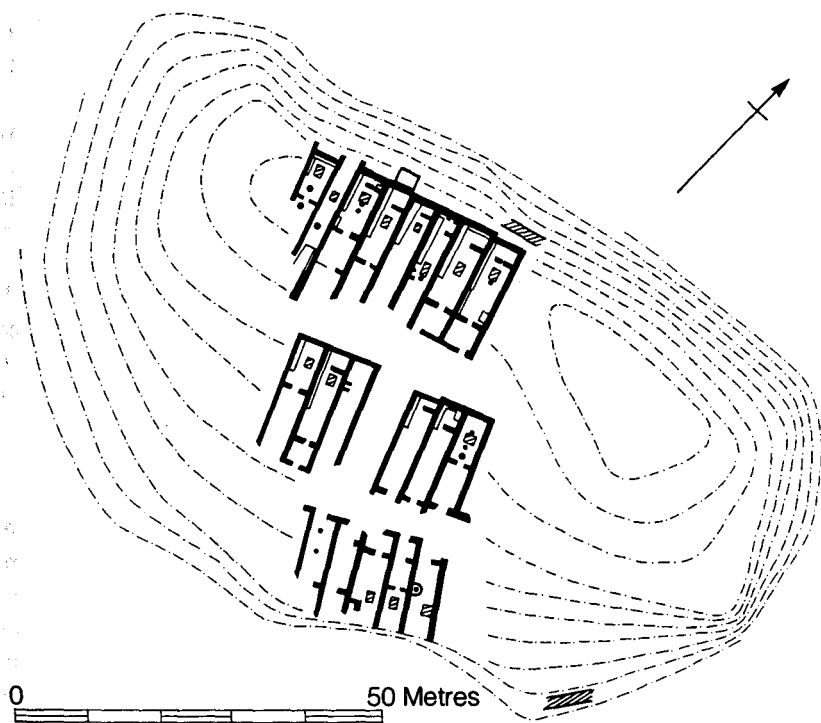


Figure 4. The closed village of Cortes de Navarra (after Maluquer).

(Lérida) dating to c.650/550 BC (Garcés *et al.* 1991), strengthens the idea that both features arrived together from the other side of the Pyrenees, although parallels at the Swiss settlements of Wittnauer Horn or Sissacht (Drack 1957, pl. 18, 1, 2), or Pech-Maho in Languedoc (Solier 1976), do not pre-date the Early Iron Age (Coles and Harding 1979, fig. 152).

The greater efficiency of the 'closed settlement' explains its rapid acceptance in the north-east and Levante (Moret 1992), the Upper Ebro valley (Castiella 1987, f. 2), the Meseta where it appears in a developed form in the Sorian castros (Romero 1991, 373-4), the Molina Highlands, the Albarracín mountains and the plain of La Mancha (Fernández 1988), and at the castro of Pedrão (Soares and Silva 1973), in southern Portugal. In more conservative regions, such as the Duero (Romero *et al.* 1993) or La Bureba (Parzinger *et al.* 1993) valleys, rectangular houses appear at a later date, separated from each other by parallel streets, as at the *oppidum* of Ulaca (Avila) (Alvarez 1993, f. 8), or at the Castro Corporales in León (Sánchez Palencia and Fernández Posse 1987). In the Zamoran Castro Culture, the houses sometimes exhibited rounded angles (Esparza 1987, f. 141), which reflect a transition to the Castro Culture of the north-west (Romero Masiá 1976; Maya 1989, 40-1). Here, round houses persist for even longer and square houses were not introduced until the Roman period. Indeed, in some areas round houses have persisted until the present day (Fernández González 1978, 61-2).

Throughout phase 2, increasingly developed planning and defensive concepts emerged. This was particularly true in the south Meseta and Extremadura, regions where Celtiberian Culture came into contact with the more developed tradition of Turdetanian and Iberian *oppida* (Berrocal 1992).

During the transition to *Phase 3*, from the third century BC onwards (Almagro-Gorbea and Lorrio 1991), *oppida* developed serving as the centre of hierarchically ordered territories along similar lines to the *Oppidum Culture* of Central Europe (Cunliffe and Rowley (eds) 1976; Collis 1984; Frey 1984; Audouze and Buchsenschutz 1989; A.A.V.V. 1991, 411-12; Ralston 1992, 105-6; etc.), even though hillforts remained in marginal areas or zones of secondary importance.

As an archaeological term, '*oppidum*' describes a large fortified settlement which controls the wider and more ranked territory of a more complex society (Kornemann 1939; Ralston 1992, 141). This process of synoecism took place under the pressure of Barcid expansion and the Roman conquest. It also helps us to understand why *oppida* first appear in open zones, such as in the vicinity of the Guadiana, La Mancha, the Duero valley and the Ebro basin, whereas the hillforts persist in mountainous regions. The development was encouraged by the growing Mediter-

ranean influence emanating from Greek areas in the east and from Carthaginians in the south (Almagro-Gorbea 1990b; Bendala *et al.* 1988, 123–4; Moret 1992). For this reason settlements which can be classed as *oppida* first appeared in the south and spread north (Figures 5 and 6). In the region of Oretania and the Guadiana they date to before the fifth century BC, whereas the Citanias of the Gallaecian north-west did not appear until the period of the Roman Empire (da Silva 1986; Calo 1993). The idea never reached the Asturian-Cantabrian mountains or the Basque Pyrenees. The spread of the '*oppida*' type of town to the west and north

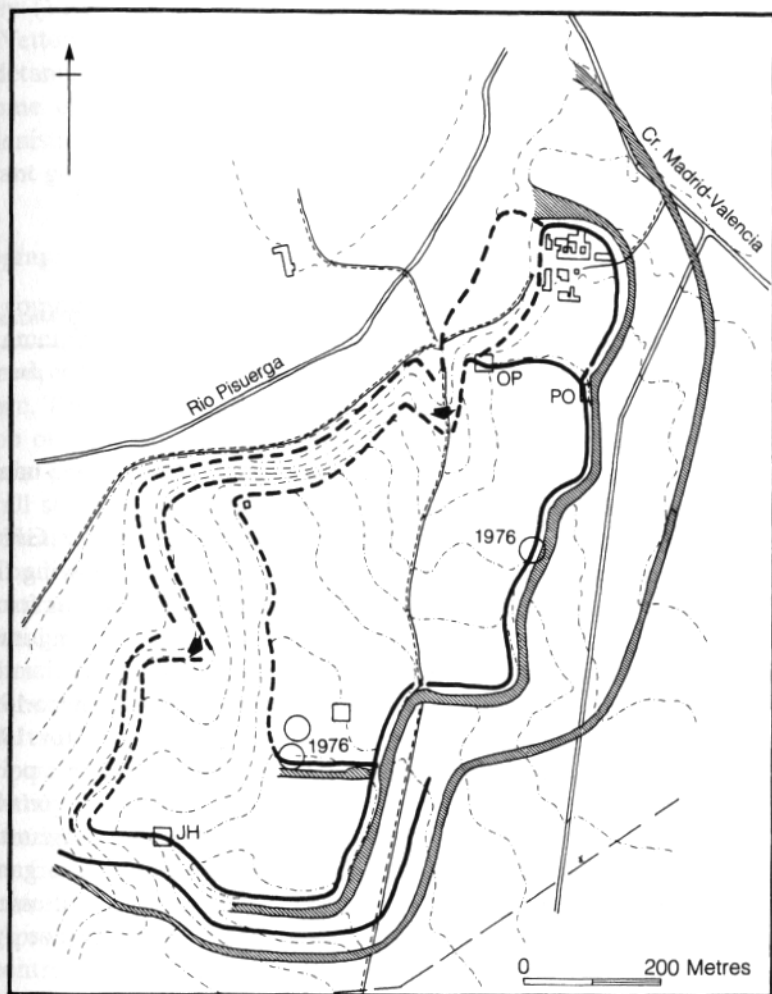


Figure 5. The *oppidum* of *Contrebia Carbica* (Cuenca) (after Velasco *et al.*).

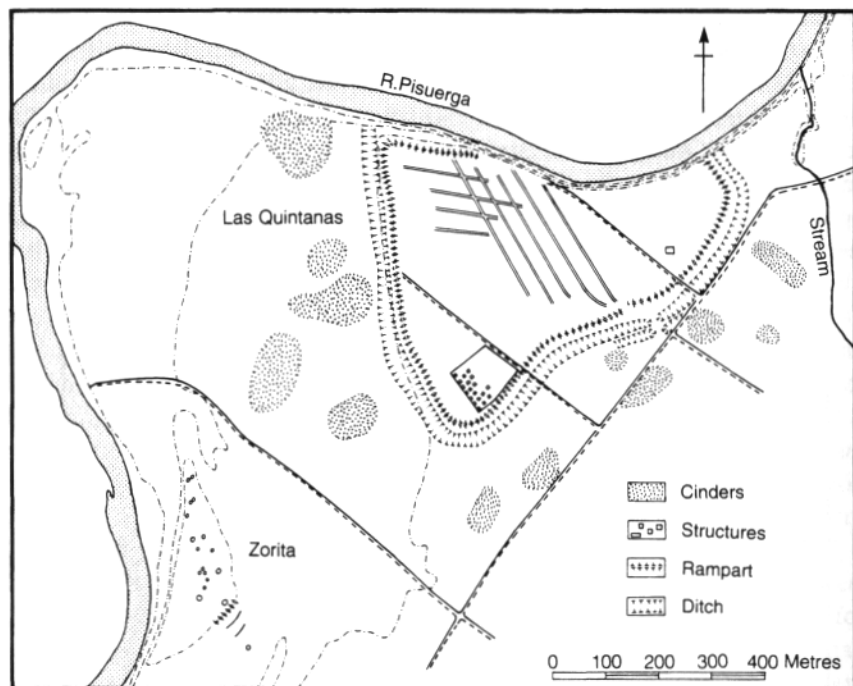


Figure 6. The *oppidum* of Las Quintanas, Valoria la Buena, Valladolid (after Olmo and San Miguel).

may be documented by the distribution of well-known Celtic place-names ending in *-briga* (Almagro-Gorbea and Lorrio 1991).

During this period, weapons disappeared from graves (Ruiz Gálvez 1986; Almagro-Gorbea and Lorrio 1991; Lorrio 1993, 297), implying that the clan élites had evolved further substituting their warrior status for an urban status manifest in torques, jewels and sumptuous banqueting items (Raddatz 1969). At the same time, the growing socio-cultural 'iberization' of populations ensured the spread of wheel-thrown pottery (Romero 1991, 503) and the rotary quern, and, in eastern zones, writing (de Hoz 1963; 1986) and coinage (Untermann 1975; Villaronga 1979). All of this points to an increasingly complex society organized in authentic towns (*civitates*, *poleis*) (Balil 1971; Bendala *et al.* 1988), with a *senatus* and *magistratus* presided over by *praetores* working within public laws and legal organization with arbitration formulae, etc. (Fatás 1980). The presence of associations of *iuvenes*, however, points to the continuity of Late Bronze Age traditions (Almagro-Gorbea and Alvarez 1993).

Although little is known about the urban development of these *oppida* in Celtic Iberia, it appears that they evolved from increasingly large

hillforts, with more streets and more developed defensive systems. Their internal organization became increasingly complex and evolved from a simple road system to cobbled streets laid out in the hippodamian fashion, with separate residential zones for the wealthy, the poor and the craftsmen (Fernández 1986, 496; Ruiz Zapatero, in this volume). Public buildings, like the 'altar' or the 'sauna' of Ulaca (Avila), or the columns of most iberized centres like Contrebia Belaisca, proclaim the monumentality of these settlements (Beltrán 1988). At the end of the second century BC this process culminated in further hippodamian planning and the appearance of large Hellenistic-Roman *villae* as at La Caridad (Teruel), in the Ebro valley (Vicente *et al.* 1991). El Raso (Avila), in the southern sector of the Vettonian area, exhibited large subdivided houses influenced by élite Turdetanian structures (Fernández 1986, 496). Systems of fortification become even more complex and reflect the increasing assimilation of Hellenistic polioretic work, with various enclosures, square towers, re-entrant gateways, large ditches, proteichismata, etc.

Geographically defined groups

The complex urban development of the Celtic areas of Iberia gave rise to the emergence of numerous social groups, which later became clearly defined, but whose characteristics and ethnic context are as yet little known. This is particularly true of their internal organization. The identification of some groups has had to rely on local, and even administrative, criteria (Esparza 1987; Romero 1991; Collado 1990), since there is no overall study of their typological and cultural relationships, or their geographical and social contexts.

The Meseta, a sedimentary plain surrounded by mountains, is of central importance and its geomorphology has conditioned both the internal and external relationships of the different ethno-cultural groups (Almagro-Gorbea and Ruiz Zapatero 1993, 511-13). Hillforts and *oppida* were sited on karstic formations in the east and north, on hills formed by erosion on the tertiary plains and on elevated positions in the fluvially eroded palaeozoic zone. The geomorphological constraints allow distinctive groups to be distinguished but no detailed analysis of their characteristics can yet be attempted.

In Celtiberia, the south-west Ebro valley was 'celtiberized' after the fourth century BC, and settlements here underwent an Iberian-type urbanizing process. Small 'closed settlements' in the Urnfield tradition became concentrated at larger centres from the fifth century BC onwards (Burillo 1980, 315, fig. 107). From the third century BC *oppida* appear as small towns or *civitates*. An example of this is *Contrebia Belaisca* with its *senatus*

formed by magistrates and presided over by a *praetor*, and its mint and public monuments (Fatás 1980, 101–2; Beltrán 1988). The strongly fortified settlement of *Contrebia Leucade* had monumental rock-cut houses (Hernández Vera 1982). *Sekaisa*, the principal mint of Celtiberia was a 'large and powerful' city of the *Bellii* (Appian, *Ib.* 44). In 179 BC it extended its ramparts by 40 stades and compelled the neighbouring *Titii* to unite with them in a clear act of synoecism, which led to the Celtiberian War.

In the western and southern zone of the Celtiberian Culture, located in the mountains and highlands of the eastern Meseta (900 m above sea-level) north of Burgos and Soria, the highlands of Soria and Molina de Aragón, the upper Tagus, and the Albarracín and Cuenca mountains, the small hillforts or castros evolved slowly and the local *oppida* are small, appearing only at a late date (Romero 1991; Collado 1990). Important *oppida* such as *Numantia*, in the territory of the *Arevacii* of the Duero valley, are known only from the fringes of the plains. Little is known of pre-Roman *Numantia* and the suggested hippodamian planning could be very late in date. Nevertheless, *Numantia* has complex fortifications and a housing tradition involving cellars similar to the Gallic late La Tène type (Schulten 1914; Bendala *et al.* 1988, 127). By contrast, small *oppida*-type towns are located on the Celtiberian plains, at sites such as *Clunia*, *Arcobriga*, *Segobriga*, *Valeria*, *Ercavica* (Livy 40,50: '*nobilis et potens civitas*'), all of which were strongly romanized in the Augustan period (Bendala *et al.* 1988, 129–30; Almagro-Gorbea 1990a; Fuentes 1993).

There are other more localized but lesser known hillfort, or castro, groups in the Meseta, such as the Miraveche-Monte Bernorio Culture, which represent a transition towards the late castros of Cantabria (San Valero 1966; Parzinger *et al.* 1993), whilst at Alava, hillforts are known from the Late Bronze Age onwards. However hillforts with round houses only evolved to become small *oppida* (Llanos 1981; 1983) at a late date and under Celtiberian influence.

Oretanian *oppida* such as Alarcos, Las Cabezas and Sisapo, are large settlements of up to 20 ha in extent (Almagro-Gorbea 1988, 24), which exhibit strong Turdetanian influences from the fifth century BC onwards. They have an *arx*, various walled enclosures with solid rectangular towers, sanctuaries (Fernández Rodríguez *et al.* 1993) and a developed urban form with cobbled streets and large rectangular houses.

In *Carpetania*, isolated rectangular houses replaced circular buildings in the sixth century BC (Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila 1991). It is, however, difficult to say when closed settlements, such as that at Pedro Muñoz (Fernández 1988) gave way to *oppida* but it probably happened before the time of Hannibal (Polybius 3,13,5; Livy 21,5,2: '*Cartalam*,² urbem

opulentam'). There are large urban settlements like *Consabura*, *Complutum* and *Toletum* which may be designated as *oppida* (Livy, 35,7,6) and *parva urbs* (Livy 35,22,5). One of the biggest is *Contrebia Carbica*, Cuenca (Figure 5), which enclosed more than 40 ha and comprised several enclosures with large V-shaped ditches up to 8 m deep akin to those at La Tène *oppida* (Livy 40,33). It also had ramparts with towers indicating Iberian influence. Its internal organization, however, is almost unknown (Mena *et al.* 1984).

The hillforts of Extremadura and the Portuguese Alemtejo correspond to the *Celtici* and other peoples such as the Lusitanians and Vettonians, and exhibit significant differences from one area to another (Almagro-Gorbea and Martín (eds) in press). In the Guadiana valley and the peneplain of Extremadura there are *oppida* of up to 15 ha in area, which date back to the Orientalizing Period (seventh century BC) and are culturally related to Turdetanian and Oretanian towns. In later periods, their territories are controlled by small well-fortified hillforts and *turres* (Rodríguez Díaz 1989; Ortiz 1991), while rectangular houses become usual (Hernández *et al.* 1989; Berrocal 1992, 167–8). After the fourth century BC in the pastoral and mining areas of southern Extremadura, small *oppida* of 5 to 8 ha predominate as central places, surrounded by smaller hillforts. Their built-up areas were composed of houses with common dividing walls, while there were some élite and ritual central places, such as the 'altar' of Capote (Badajoz) (Berrocal 1992, 179–80). In more isolated pastoral areas, like the Tagus border, there was a predominance of small hillforts with a few *oppida* of up to 10 ha in area (Martín 1993). They were probably not organized as *civitates*, as in the north-western zones (Pliny, *N.H.* 3,4,28) and as is recorded in the *deditio* of the *populus Seano[rum?]* to Rome in 104 BC (Castro de Alcántara, Cáceres; cf. López Melero *et al.* 1984).

The early phase of the Vaccaean Culture, situated in the sedimentary regions of the Duero valley, is to be identified with the 'Soto de Medinilla' group (Delibes and Romero 1992, 243–4). It dates to the Early Iron Age (San Miguel 1993, 25–6) and comprised agrarian settlements with round houses, of between 1 and 5 ha in extent, defended by ramparts reinforced by posts and ditches. These are equivalent to the castros of other zones, since despite the distinctive geography of these zones, the name 'castro' persisted here until the medieval period, and their pre-Roman origin has been documented by archaeological discoveries in many cases (Romero *et al.* 1993).

Before the end of the third century BC, these castros gave way to *oppida/civitates*. Of these *Helmantica* and *Arbocala* are considered to have been *urbes* by classical writers although their inhabitants are called *oppidani* (Livy 21,5,2). At the same time wheel-made pottery and cremation

graves indicate the degree of 'celtiberization' achieved by the time of their encounter with Rome (Martín Valls and Esparza 1992). These settlements, some of which achieved sizes of more than 30 ha, are considered to have been *civitates* (Sacristán 1989; San Miguel 1993, 52) and *oppida* (San Miguel 1993, 31–2). They exhibit ditches and earthen ramparts, and at *Pallantia* there was a *murus gallicus* (Appian, *b.c.* I,112). Within were straight parallel stone-paved streets 3.5 m wide with pavements, a square near the gate (Las Quintanas), zones of rectangular houses, as well as round structures and open spaces about which little is known (San Miguel 1993, 35–6; Olmo and San Miguel 1993, 524–5).

The Vettonian Culture broadly covers the palaeozoic peneplain of Extremadura and Salamanca with no clear limits towards Lusitanian territory in the west, or towards the Oretanians and Turdetanians in the south. Some large castros or hillforts in the Central System date back to, and were walled in the Bronze Age (Maluquer 1958; González Tablas *et al.* 1986; González Tablas 1987, 50). However, their evolution into large complex *oppida*, such as Ulaca (60 ha) or El Raso (20 ha) (Fernández 1986; Alvarez 1993; Ruiz Zapatero, in this volume), takes place at some time after the fourth century BC. This group includes the castros of Zamora (Esparza 1987), located on the border between the Asturian, Gallaecian and Vettonian areas. These were small, rarely 6 ha in extent, and are best considered to be transitional to the more westerly 'Castro Culture'.

The Castro Culture of the north-west, of the Lusitanians, Gallaecians and Astures, spread from Tras-os-Montes throughout the north-west to Gallaecia and the western part of Asturias and León (da Silva 1986; Romero Masiá 1976; Calo 1993). The castro system here begins at the end of the Bronze Age (Peña 1992) with round houses which continue until the Roman period. This is the point at which the large proto-urban *citánias* emerge, equipped with public monuments and buildings (da Silva 1986, 43–4; da Silva, in this volume).

Ethno-cultural interpretation

'Celtic' urbanism in Iberia needs to be understood in its cultural context and the archaeological evidence must be studied together with the linguistic, historical and ethnographic data. In this way the urban development of the pre-Roman peoples may be analysed and our understanding of their cultural significance will be enhanced.

The distribution of the hillforts coincides with ethnonyms, anthroponyms and toponyms retaining the initial *P-* of an ancient western Indo-European language related to the so-called 'Lusitanian'. This confirms the pre-Roman linguistic identity of the western peninsula within 'Indo-

European' or 'Celtic' Hispania (Tovar 1985; Gorrochategui 1985; Schmidt 1985; Untermann 1987; etc.). This archaic substratum, which is also documented in archaeological and ideological evidence, is closer to Indo-European than the Celtic languages documented today (Almagro-Gorbea 1993).

The ritual, ideological and linguistic remains of these peoples are documented throughout the north-western quadrant of the peninsula, as far as the Guadalquivir and Ebro valleys. This clarifies aspects of the socio-ideological structure of the Lusitanians, Gallaecians, Astures, Cantabrians, etc. who Strabo (III,3,7) considered to be the most primitive peoples of Iberia. Amongst this evidence it is worth mentioning 'rock-cut altars', initiation 'saunas', burial rites without cremation, and water offerings (Almagro-Gorbea in press b). Also significant are the pre-anthropomorphic and asexual divinities of the western regions, sometimes associated with rocks and documented by theonyms with the prefix of *Bandu-*, *Cosu-*, *Nabia-*, or *Reve-* (García Fernández-Albalat 1990, map 6).

Bandua (from **bhendh-*, to band, to bind) is supposed to refer to the cohesion of warrior bands (*Männerbunde*) and their adherence to their chief by virtue of *devotio*, like the *finna* of Celtic Ireland or the *iuventus celtiberorum*. Some of their epithets in *-briga*, like *Aetobrigus* or *Lanobrigae*, and the iconography of *Fortuna-Tyché* of *Band(ua) Araugel(ensis)*, shows the existence of primordial divinities which guaranteed the cohesion of the entire community (García Fernández-Albalat 1990, 109–10, 181, 340) (Figures 7 and 8). *Cossus* was a warrior divinity associated with omphalic rocks, or *nemeta*, and his epithet *Oenaecus* indicates his involvement in the juridico-religious Indo-European assembly of warriors, like the *oenach* of Ireland, the German *Ghilde* or the Italian *curia* or **co-wiri-a* (García Fernández-Albalat 1990, 266). *Nabia* is related to rivers and the *sidh*. She would have had a psycho-pompous nature and, as one of her epithets is *Tongoe*, would have been involved in the taking of oaths (Blázquez 1977, 320).

There are also hecatombs (Strabo III,3,7), *suovetaurilia* and other lustration and communal rites, related to the army and its territory. Thus, prisoners and horses were sacrificed to a warrior divinity, *Ares-Mars* (Strabo III,3,7; Horace, *Carm.* 3,4,34; Silius Italicus 3,361), a practice which at *Bletisama* (Ledesma) accompanied the signing of peace (Livy, *per.* 48). Similar rites appear amongst other Indo-European peoples, such as the *October Equus* of the Roman *Salii* when returning from war, and amongst the Celts, Germans (Tacitus, *Germania* X), Thracians (Plutarch, *Crass.* 11,8–9), and the Hindu *asvamedha*, etc. Amongst these rites was that of sending heralds clad in wolf skins (Appian, *Iber.* 48), offering up the hands of the conquered (Strabo III,3,6) and leaving the bodies of warriors who

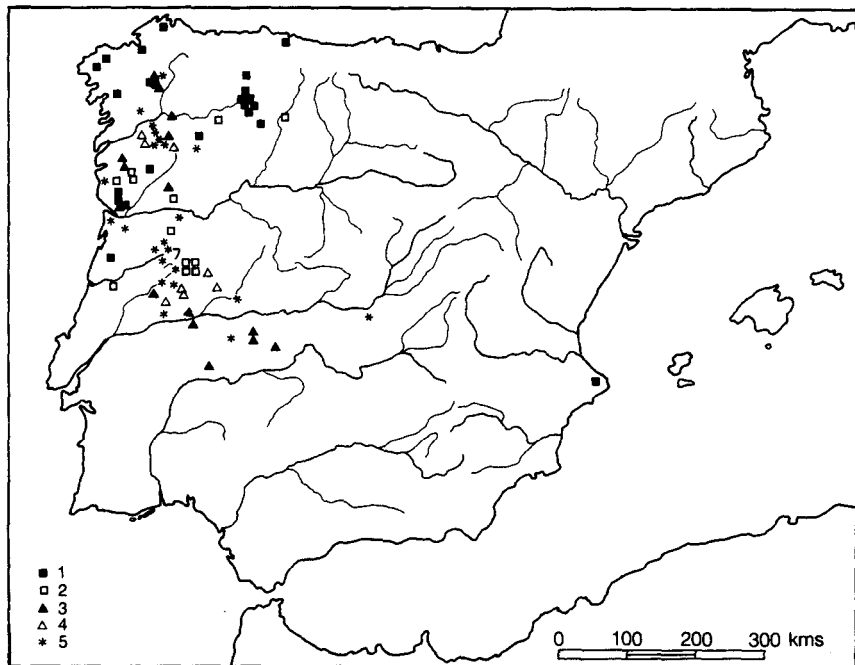


Figure 7. Distribution of the Lusitanian-Gallician deities protecting the community (after García Fernández-Albalat).

have fallen in battle exposed to vultures (Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 2,3, 341–3; Aelianus, *De nat. anim.*, 10,22). This last was a ritual maintained amongst the Vaccaei and Celtiberians. It differs from the Urnfield practice of cremation in north-east Iberia, as well as that of the Celtiberian and Iberian cemeteries, a practice associated with the spread of the clan system (Almagro-Gorbea 1993, 147–8).

Strabo (III,3,6) records an anachronic panoply of spears with ‘bronze tips’ which denote the persistence of the ideological and cultural substratum of the Bronze Age. These warriors, whose special weapon was the spear, reflect the continuation of a primitive Indo-European organization, based upon brotherhoods or age groups, among the Lusitanians and other peoples. There were initiation rites such as frugal meals, initiation saunas (Strabo III,3,7;³ Martial, *Epigr.* VI,42,16), ritual games and combats and war songs (Appian, *Iber.* 71; Diodorus Siculus 33,21; *id.* V,34; Strabo 3,3,7; 3,4,18; Silius Italicus 3, 346–50), and a lifestyle which Strabo (III,3,6–7) compares with that of the Lacedaemonians. These warrior groups preserved ancestral Indo-European customs, parallels for which are to be found as far afield as the *Salii* of Rome and Veii (Virgil, *Aen.* 7, 723–4), Dorian Crete and India. The importance of war in this primitive society

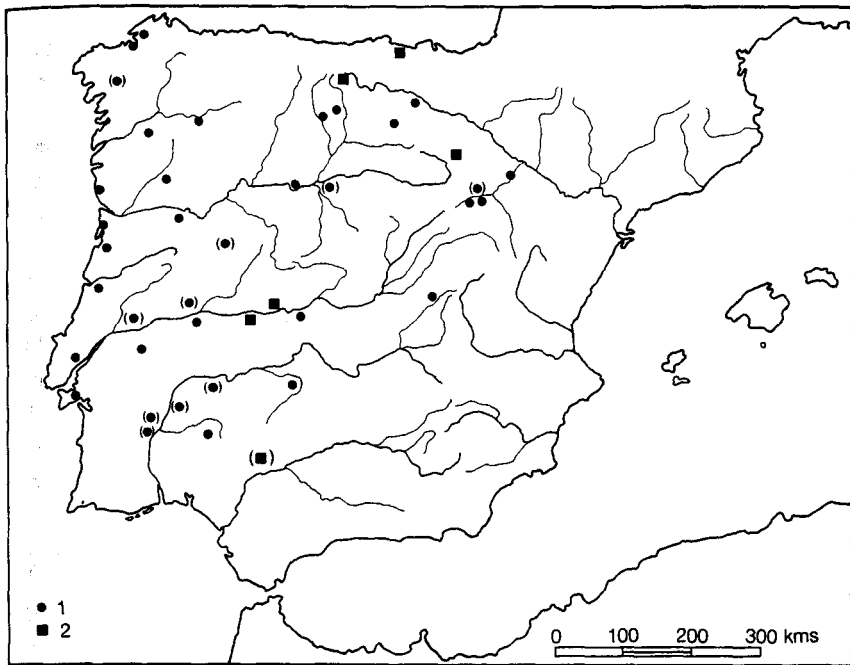


Figure 8. Distribution of *-briga* toponymies in 'Celtic' Hispania (after Untermann, modified by Almagro-Gorbea and Llorio 1987).

is reflected in divinities associated with castros and in the evidence of warrior brotherhoods (Almagro-Gorbea and Alvarez 1993; Almagro-Gorbea 1993, 135–6).

This warfaring society practised the *ver sacrum*, because the young warriors would raid their neighbours (Diodorus Siculus V,34,6; Strabo III,3,5). There was a tradition of *latrones*, which was associated with brotherhoods and *devotio* to the chief, documented amongst the Lusitanians, Vettones, Cantabrians and Celtiberians (Appian, *Ib.* 56–7, 67–70, 71; Livy XXV,17,4, XXXVIII,21; Plutarch, *Sert.* 14; Valerius Maximus II,6,14; Aulus Gellius XV,22; Orosius V,5,12, V,23; etc.). This tradition, well-documented in other Indo-European warrior groups (Caesar, *B.G.* III,22; Tacitus, *Germania* 13 and 14; etc.), is characteristic of the hillfort society which originated in the proto-Celtic substratum prior to the emergence of clan society (Almagro-Gorbea 1992; 1993).

The socio-economic organization of this community is of some importance. Amongst the Cantabrians, women toiled in the fields (Strabo III,4,17; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 3,350), the men received the dowry (cattle), and the daughters the inheritance (land and house). Thus, sisters 'married' their brothers (Strabo 3,4,18) — a custom confirmed by Justin (XLIV,3,7: '*femi-*

nae res domesticas agrorumque administrant, ipsi armis rapinis serviunt). These practices illustrate the structure of this primitive society. The women worked the kitchen gardens and looked after the house while the men went to war, hunted and tended the flocks. Such customs imply a collective use of land, like that amongst the Vaccaei, who punished anyone who seized the communal harvest with the death penalty (Diodorus Siculus 5,34,3; Almagro-Gorbea 1993).

Similar Indo-European customs are documented among Dorians (Strabo 15,166), Slavs and Germans, and have their origin in a pre-clan socio-economic system. The hillfort, thus, represents an Indo-European socio-ideological organization which was not only pre-urban in origin, but pre-dates the formation of the Iron Age clan system. That this evolved from a communal property system is borne out by comparison with the Italic world. According to this hypothesis, the 'clan' system would gradually have spread amongst the archaic substratum of the castro groups (Almagro-Gorbea 1992). This process is documented by the appearance of prestigious weapons and groups of differentiated tombs in the Celtiberian cremation cemeteries of the fifth century BC onwards (Lorrio 1993). The plural genitives of the name system and the spread of the anthroponym *Ambatus* are also significant since they were related to military clientele (Albertos 1966, 21), integral to Celtic society in the last phase of Celtiberian Culture (Almagro-Gorbea and Lorrio 1987).

The *origo* thus divides pre-Roman Indo-European Hispania into two zones of different social organization. To the west of the Mérida-Astorga line appears the symbol \mathfrak{C} which expresses a link between the pre-clan type of community and the *castellum* or castro which controlled the territory of the community (Albertos 1975; Pereira 1985; da Silva 1986, 272–3). To the east of the line, plural genitives were used, and could be interpreted as clan names (*gentilitia*) (Albertos 1983) or hereditary nicknames typical of Celtiberian society. The primitive form of family organization, in *syngéneia* (Strabo 3,3,7 and 3,4,17–18) (da Silva 1986, 267–8), also belongs to this period. It is equivalent to the *cognatio*, documented by bronze juridical texts (Pereira 1993), and involves the custom of eating in order of age and prestige (Strabo III,3,7) — a convivial rite which reveals the existence of age classes as in Dorian Greece.

These primitive customs are recorded by Posidonius and preserved by Strabo (III,6 and 7) (Tierney 1960), who considered them to be characteristic of the most primitive peoples of Iberia. They reflect the existence of a different socio-economic organization, and allow the 'proto-Celtic' substratum of the hillforts of the west and north of the Iberian Peninsula to be distinguished from the 'Celtic' or Celtiberian Culture which gradually spread from the eastern Meseta and the Iberian Mountain System to the

west, slowly modifying the indigenous culture. Linguistic data confirm this ancient ideological and social substratum, of which the hillforts are a part, because the primitive customs are related to the Celtic world by the continuity of certain rites and by the Celtic etymology of certain theonyms and anthroponyms. However, they always have an archaic appearance which betrays a greater proximity to a common ideological and linguistic Indo-European heritage. The origin of the hillforts of the Iberian Peninsula is thus to be found in the Late Bronze Age, and had strong cultural affinities with cultural milieu of the Atlantic coast. Thus, it pre-dates the Celtic Hallstatt and La Tène cultures of Central Europe (Almagro-Gorbea 1993).

If this is applicable to the socio-economic system of the early hillforts, an ethno-archaeological analysis of areas such as the Sierra de Albarracín (Almagro-Gorbea in press a), using historical evidence and inscriptions, should provide an interpretation applicable to the socio-economic structure of the later hillforts and the *oppida*. In these regions today, mountain villages comprising a small number of dwellings, are located on the edge of valleys so as to control their territory, in much the same way as hillforts (Collado 1990) took advantage of their environmental resources. The rectangular houses are arranged around a central space or their rear walls form a street parallel to the cliff upon which they stand. This echoes the established pre-Roman hillfort tradition.

Settlements of this kind retain certain socio-economic elements of the Celtiberian hillfort. These include constructional techniques such as internal wooden partitions used to separate animals from the hearth and living areas, the warmth of the animals helping to maintain a constant indoor temperature (Vilá Valentí 1952; Otegui 1986; Misiego *et al.* 1992), low doors, wooden thresholds and ceilings constructed of oak or sabine beams. The largest houses have a porch on the smaller, southern, side (Ruiz Zapatero 1985, 476).

The similar location of hillforts and mountain villages underlines a similarity of socio-economic structure and territorial organization, which has continued unchanged to the present day. The compactness of the village, the types of soil utilized, and the method of exploitation, allow a comparison to be made with the primitive Roman organization of *hortus*, *pascuum*, *ager* and *saltus*. Near the village, and forming a part of the domestic unit cared for by the women, are the kitchen gardens. These are less than 100 sq m in size, and are watered by fountains or streams. They are fenced-in, like 'celtic fields', with stone walls or hawthorn branches to define the private property from the communal pasture lands (Moreno 1966, 79). These still account for over 95% of the land in the Albarracín

(Collado and Punter 1985), because the clan wealth is not based on land, which is communally owned, but upon sheep.

The bottoms of the valleys controlled by the hillforts are of great economic importance (Otegui 1990, 88–9), even though they cover a relatively small area, usually in the region of one square kilometre. This is because their lands are well-watered communal meadowlands which resist the summer drought and are particularly suitable for cattle and horses, and the collective breeding and fattening of livestock. The rest of the territory, over 95% of the total and nearly all located over half an hour's journey away, is 'wild country'. It is used for communal exploitation, as a source of wood and firewood, and as pasture for more laborious shepherding. 'Clearings' are created in this zone for cereals and legumes, and are allowed to go to waste when not worked. This is man's work, compared with the care of the vegetable garden and the home which is the woman's work (Otegui 1990, 21–2).

Assuming the hillforts and mountain villages, at different times, to have occupied the same environment, it is possible to estimate the Iron Age population of Celtiberia, because hillforts appear not to have varied greatly in number or in size when compared with medieval settlements (Collado 1990, 129; Galindo 1954, 138). For the medieval period the population density varied at around 10 hearths/sq km and was concentrated in small nuclei. Albarraçín, the capital, only had 99 hearths or 'neighbours' in 1495 and 300 in the seventeenth century, when its 20 villages each had an average of 100 'neighbours' (Galindo 1954, 138). A 'neighbour' is somebody who has a 'home', that is, a unit comprising house, yard, threshing floor and kitchen garden — essential elements of family heritage, as consuetudinary law (*fueros*) confirms. The household is a production and consumer unit, comprising a family home and an agro-pastoral enterprise, which is represented at ceremonies and on other occasions, by the 'father' (Otegui 1990, 18–19, 37). The name given to all the members of a household was a nickname inherited across four or five generations, perhaps equivalent to the plural genitives of the Celtiberian world. The inheritance system among sons and daughters was in equal parts, drawn by lot. When the couple married, they set up home in another house and were considered a neighbour.

This social organization implies cooperation between neighbours and relatives at the hearth, the harvest, and at the collective meal on feast-days, when there were exceptional sacrifices providing meat. The 'quintos' and other groups of young unmarried people were significant in this organization. Their youthful associations helped to strengthen bonds of friendship when they reached adult age at around 14–15 years. This represents a continuation of the Celtiberian '*iuventus*' (Ciprés 1990), with its charac-

teristic feast-days, like the 'May tree', which strengthened and helped unify the young. Young girls were allotted by auction to the highest bidder and any outsider who wooed a bride in the village was punished.

The consuetudinary law was an essential tradition (Costa 1902; Simò 1970), particularly for communal ownership of land. It remained in use until the present century (Pinedo 1963; Ruiz Gálvez 1991, 75) and implies institutional equality. The saying that 'nobody is more important than anybody else' expresses its sentiment (Almagro 1977, 58). This custom was documented amongst the *Vaccaei* (Diodorus Siculus 5,34,3: cf. Caro Baroja 1946, 146-7; Sánchez Gómez 1991, 27-8) and in ancient communities preserved in the highlands of the Iberian Cordillera from Burgos to Teruel and Cuenca (Almagro 1977, 59), and in areas of the western Meseta (Sánchez Gómez 1991, 27-8), with their strange socio-political system known as the 'community of city and villages'⁴ (Mantecón 1924, 13). This offers us an insight into the organization of the territorial *oppidum* system.

All of these territories formed small states organized from their capital with their own consuetudinary laws (Lorente and Martín-Ballester 1944, 73-4). They have survived until the present day in the form of the medieval 'fueros of Extremadura' (Barrero 1979, 19-20), and may have had their origins in Celtiberian tradition (Almagro 1977; Almagro-Gorbea in press a). They represent the continuity of a system for managing an area of pasture and its corresponding socio-cultural organization, involving the administration of pastures and commonlands, the obligations and rights of neighbours, and justice and defence (Mantecón 1924, 15-16). The respective villages and their small valleys tended to be integrated into wider territories, at the head of which there was generally a city, although the more primitive communities, called 'Comunidades de Pastos' like the 'Canales de la Sierra' (Fita 1907), are formed by an aggregation of villages, which do not have a city for their territorial centre. The city, like the old *civitas*, is only a centre which administers the territory, because the villages, equivalent to *vici/castella*, are not subject to it.⁵ The city gives the community its external name but within its local territory it is known as 'the city'. This politico-territorial organization of city-village-farm can then be applied to the *oppida* of Celtiberia. Both reflect the phenomenon of synoecism, collective colonization systems and hierarchized structures similar to the pre-Roman organization of the Gauls (Caesar, *B.G.* 1,5: *civitas/oppida, vici/castella* and *aedificia privata*), which are similarly documented in Iberia, with such references as *urbs . . . vicos castellaque* (Livy 40,33). The proportion of *oppida/vici*, 1/20 to 1/100, recalls that of the Helvetii of 12/c.400 (Audouze and Buchsenschutz 1989, 317-18).

The persistence of this primitive socio-economic and cultural structure shows that it was suited to the environment. It forms a cohesive unit which

includes a territory, whose city administers its villages and organizes its defence and takes advantage of cleared ground for farming and meadows for pasture. Although little is known about the government of the primitive communities, the 'fueros' shows that they were a unit in the economic, political, administrative and judicial sense (also religious to a certain degree!).

They were organized politically as small republics ruled by officials (equivalent to the Latin *magistratus* = *bintis*? in Celtic epigraphy) appointed at meetings or Town Councils (*consejo*, *concilium* with a role similar to the *curia*), following established regulations (Asso 1798, 23; Mantecón 1924, 59). The city was the essential element. Its inhabitants had better legal status than did those of the villages because they were exempt from the payment of levies for the repair of the ramparts or for other collective work and because they held administrative and judicial offices. However, villagers could gain access to them by becoming a neighbour after living in the town for one year. The city, as head of the community, had a local council. Its offices were allotted (*insaculatio*) to those neighbours who applied for the post although only those who owned a horse (*equites*) were entitled to draw lots. The supreme and executive magistrate of the community was the judge (*Iudex* = *Praetor*), who represented the local council and had multiple duties, ranging from commanding troops to judicial functions. He was appointed each year in rotation for a one-year, non-renewable, mandate (Fuero de Sepúlveda). He was chosen from amongst mayors representing the four *collationes* or districts (Mantecón 1924, 197; Gargallo 1984, 36) into which the city was divided for the purposes of the census and warfare. The territory, in turn, was divided up into four *cuadrillas* or *sexmas*, which included the villages (20, in Albarracín),⁶ a four-party organization characteristic of the Celtic world (Almagro-Gorbea and Gran Aymerich 1991, 192–3).

Conclusion

The evolution of hillforts (*castros*) into *oppida* (towns) in Celtic Hispania is a crucial chapter in the protohistory of the Iberian Peninsula. The hillforts are the best unit for analysing the economy, society and ideology of the pre-Roman cultures of 'Celtic' Hispania. They are the product of a close interaction between society and the natural environment, and the use of a territory by a basically pastoral and warrior society. Although some groups are poorly known, all have common polymorphous cultural characteristics. This explains their differences, and even their relationships to other groups in the Atlantic area, such as the hillforts of the British Isles.

The origin and evolution of the hillforts provide us with a better understanding of the socio-cultural evolution and formation of the peoples of 'Celtic' Hispania. They derive from a common ancient 'proto-Celtic' substratum, dating to the end of the Bronze Age. In the most progressive areas this developed into proto-urban cultures throughout the first millennium BC, with indirect Phoenician and Greek influence transmitted through the medium of the Turdetanians and Iberians. This evolution gave rise to new centres, the *oppida* or *civitates*, which emerged in the third century BC to control a broader territory, and which were characteristic of the Celtic peoples who confronted, and were eventually absorbed by, Rome. Some elements of their social structures, however, have persisted down to the present day in the regional traditions of the Meseta.

NOTES

Translator's note. The terms 'hillfort' and 'castro' are synonymous in this article. To avoid confusion, *castro* is only used to describe cultures known as 'Castro Cultures' in Spanish scientific publications. Also, for ease of reference, the term 'clan' has been used instead of '*gentilitias*', except in very specific cases.

1 From Latin *castrum*, although its Latin name was *castellum*; cf. Albertos 1975, 63-6.

2 *Cartala*, etymologically related to *Kart-*, '*oppidum*' in Punic, might indicate strong Carthaginian influence in town planning in the south Meseta.

3 'They say that some (Lusitanians) who live near the Duero river live like Spartans, anointing themselves twice with oil and bathing themselves in sweat (*pyriais*) obtained with candescent stones (*'ek lithon diapyron*), bathing in cold water (*psychrolothrountas*) and once a day eating pure and simple food'.

4. The terms 'city and villages' may be considered equivalent to the *oppidal vici* of the Gauls and the *civitas et vici* of the Italic world although in Italy they may stand in contrast to collective life.

5. Nor can it be excluded that in some instances more powerful clan groups could impose themselves on subject populations, as in the case of *synoecism* of *Segeda* (Appian, *Ib.* 44).

6 In the seventeenth century the community of Albarracín was formed by the following places and neighbours: Ciudad de Santa María de Albarracín, 300 neighbours. Sexma de Jabaloyas, with 4 places: Javaloyas with its masías, 250 houses; Terriente, with its masías, 250 neighbours; Valdecuenca, 46 to 50 neighbours; Saldón, 73 neighbours. Sexma de Bronchales, with 5 places: Bronchales, 135 neighbours; Orihuela, 170; Ródenas, 55; Pozondón, 80 and Monterde, 85. Sexma de Villar del Cobo, with 3 places: Villar del Cobo with its masías, 220 neighbours and two masías with church of 40 or 50 neighbours, Griegos and Guadalaviar; Noguera, 85 residents; Tramacastilla, 70. Sexma de Frías, with 5 places: Frías, with 175 neighbours with its masías of Casas de Frías and the Villarejo; Calomarde, 60 neighbours; Royuela, 33; Moscardón, 96; Torres, 73.

REFERENCES

- A.A.V.V. 1987: *Coloquio sobre 'Los asentamientos ibéricos ante la romanización'* (Madrid).
- A.A.V.V. 1991: *I Celti* (Venezia).
- Abásolo, J.A. and García Rozas, R. 1980: *Carta arqueológica de Burgos. Partido judicial de Salas de los Infantes* (Burgos).
- Albertos, M.L. 1966: *La Onomástica Personal Primitiva de Hispania: Tarraconense y Bética* (Acta Salmanticensia 13, Salamanca).
- Albertos, M.L. 1975: *Organizaciones suprafamiliares en la Hispania Antigua* (Studia Archaeologica 37, Valladolid).
- Albertos, M.L. 1983: Onomastique personnelle indigène de la Péninsule Ibérique sous la domination romaine. *ANRW* II, 29-2 (Berlin), 853-92.
- Almagro, M. 1952: La invasión céltica en España. In Menéndez Pidal, R. (ed.), *Historia de España* 1,2 (Madrid), 1-278.
- Almagro, M. 1977: Las tierras de Teruel, antes de la reconquista cristiana. *Teruel* 57-58, 35-61.
- Almagro-Gorbea, M. 1986: Bronce Final y Edad del Hierro. *Historia de España I. Prehistoria* (Madrid).
- Almagro-Gorbea, M. 1987a: La celtización de la Meseta: estado de la cuestión. *I Congreso de Historia de Palencia* 1, 313-44.
- Almagro-Gorbea, M. 1987b: Los Campos de Urnas en la Meseta. *Zephyrus* 39-40, 31-47.
- Almagro-Gorbea, M. 1988: Las culturas de la Edad del Bronce y de la Edad del Hierro en Castilla-La Mancha. *I Congreso de Historia de Castilla-La Mancha. Ciudad Real, 1985*, 163-80.
- Almagro-Gorbea, M. 1990a: La romanización de Segóbriga. *Dialoghi di Archeologia* 10,1-2 (1992), 275-88.
- Almagro-Gorbea, M. 1990b: L'Hellénisme dans la Culture Ibérique. *XIII Congress für Klassische Archäologie. Berlin, 1988*, 113-27.
- Almagro-Gorbea, M. 1992: El origen de los celtas en la Península Ibérica. *Protocoltas y celtas. Polis* 4, 5-31.
- Almagro-Gorbea, M. 1993: Los celtas en la Península Ibérica: origen y personalidad cultural. *Los Celtas: Hispania y Europa* (Madrid), 121-73.
- Almagro-Gorbea, M. in press a: Paleoetnología de la Celtiberia meridional: La Serranía de Albarracín y de Cuenca. *III Simposio sobre los celtíberos. Daroca 1992*.
- Almagro-Gorbea, M. in press b: Sacred places and cults of the Late Bronze Age tradition in Celtic Hispania. *Archäologische Forschungen zum Kultgeschehen in der jüngeren Bronzezeit und frühen Eisenzeit Alteuropas. Regensburg 1993*.
- Almagro-Gorbea, M. and Alvarez Sanchís, J. 1993: La 'Fragua' de Ulaca: saunas y baños iniciáticos en el mundo céltico. *Cuadernos de Arqueología de la Universidad de Navarra* 1, 177-253.
- Almagro-Gorbea, M. and Dávila, A. 1991: Análisis y reconstrucción de la cabaña 'Ecce Homo 86/6'. *Homenaje al Prof. E. Ripoll* (Espacio, Tiempo y Forma I, Madrid), 361-74.

- Almagro-Gorbea, M. and Fernández-Galiano, D. 1980: *Excavaciones en el Ecce Homo (Alcalá de Henares, Madrid)* (Madrid).
- Almagro-Gorbea, M. and Gran Aymerich, J. 1991: *El Estanque Monumental de Bibracte (Complutum Extra 1, Madrid)*.
- Almagro-Gorbea, M. and Lorrio, A. 1987: La expansión céltica en la Península Ibérica: una aproximación cartográfica. *Simposium Sobre Los Celtíberos. Daroca 1986*, 105–22.
- Almagro-Gorbea, M. and Lorrio, A. 1991: Les celtes de la Péninsule Ibérique au IIIe. siècle av. J.-C. *Etudes Celtiques* 28, 33–46.
- Almagro-Gorbea, M. and Martín, A.M. (eds) in press: *Castros y Oppida en Extremadura* (Madrid).
- Almagro-Gorbea, M. and Ruiz Zapatero, G. (eds) 1992: *Paleoetnología de la Península Ibérica (Complutum 2–3, Madrid)*.
- Almagro-Gorbea, M. and Ruiz Zapatero, G. (eds) 1993: *Los Celtas: Hispania y Europa* (Madrid).
- Alvarez, J. 1993: Los castros de Avila. *Los Celtas: Hispania y Europa* (Madrid), 255–84.
- Asso, J. de 1798: *Historia de la Economía Política de Aragón* (Zaragoza) (reed. por J.M. Casas Torres 1947).
- Audouze, F. and Buchsensschutz, O. 1989: *Villes, villages et campagnes de l'Europe celtique* (Paris).
- Balil, A. 1971: Casa y urbanismo en la Hispania Antigua. La Segunda Edad de Hierro. *BSAAV* 37, 5–83.
- Barrero, A.M. 1979: *El Fuero de Teruel* (Teruel).
- Beltrán, A. 1988: Los asentamientos ibéricos ante la romanización en el valle del Ebro: los casos de Celsa, Azaila y Botorrita. *Coloquio sobre 'Los asentamientos ibéricos ante la romanización'* (Madrid), 101–9.
- Bendala, M. et al. 1988: Aproximación al urbanismo prerromano y a los fenómenos de potenciación y transición tras la conquista romana. *Coloquio sobre 'Los asentamientos ibéricos ante la romanización'* (Madrid), 121–40.
- Benet, N. et al. 1991: Arqueología en Ledesma, una primera aproximación: La excavación en la Plaza de San Martín. *Del Paleolítico a la Historia* (Salamanca), 117–36.
- Bermejo, J.C. 1978: *La sociedad en la Galicia castreña* (Santiago de Compostela).
- Berrocal, L. 1992: *Los pueblos célticos del Suroeste de la Península Ibérica (Complutum Extra 2, Madrid)*.
- Blanco, A. 1959: La Cultura Castreña. *I Symposium de Prehistoria de la Península Ibérica, (Pamplona)*, 179–94.
- Blasco, C. and Barrio, J. 1986: Excavaciones de dos nuevos asentamientos prehistóricos en Getafe (Madrid). *Noticiario Arqueológico Hispano* 27, 75–142.
- Blázquez, J.M. 1977: *Imágen y Mito. Estudios sobre religiones mediterráneas e ibéricas* (Madrid).
- Bosch Gimpera, P. 1932: *Etnología de la Península Ibérica* (Barcelona).
- Bosch Gimpera, P. 1944: *El poblamiento antiguo y la formación de los pueblos de España* (Mexico).
- Burillo, F. 1980: *El valle medio del Ebro en época ibérica* (Zaragoza).
- Burillo, F. and Picazo, J.V. 1993: Contribución al estudio del poblamiento con

- estructuras estables en el valle medio del Ebro. *Bajo Aragón. Prehistoria* 9–10, 203–14.
- Cabré, J. 1930: *Excavaciones de Las Cogotas, Cardeñosa (Avila). I, El Castro* (Memorias de la Junta Superior de Excavaciones y Antigüedades 110, Madrid).
- Cabré, J. et al. 1950: *El castro y necrópolis del Hierro céltico de Chamartín de la Sierra (Avila)* (Acta Arq. Hisp. 5, Madrid).
- Calo, F. 1993: *A Cultura castrexa* (Vigo).
- Caro Baroja, J. 1946: *Los pueblos de España* (Barcelona; 2nd ed. Madrid 1976).
- Castiella, A. 1977: *La Edad del Hierro en Navarra y Rioja* (Excavaciones en Navarra 8, Pamplona).
- Castiella, A. 1987: Nuevos datos sobre la Protohistoria Navarra. *I Congreso General de Historia de Navarra 2* (Príncipe de Viana, Anejo 7, Pamplona), 229–38.
- Chaves, F. and Bandera, M.L. de la 1991: Aspectos de la urbanística de Andalucía Occidental en los siglos VII-VI a.C. a la luz del yacimiento de Montemolín (Marchena, Sevilla). *II Congresso Internazionale di studi Fenici e Punici* (Roma), 691–714.
- Ciprés, P. 1990: Sobre la organización militar de los celtíberos: la *iuventus*. *Veleia* 7, 173–87.
- Coles, J.M. and Harding, A.F. 1979: *The Bronze Age in Europe* (London).
- Collado, O. 1990: *Introducción al poblamiento de época ibérica en el Noroeste de la Sierra de Albarracín* (Monografías Arqueológicas del S.A.E.T., Teruel).
- Collado, O. and Punter, E. 1985: Estudio del amillanamiento agrario del término municipal de Albarracín, de 1947. *Teruel* 73, 169–91.
- Collis, J. 1984: *Oppida. Earliest Towns North of the Alps* (Sheffield).
- Costa, J. 1902: *Derecho consuetudinario y economía popular de España* (Zaragoza, 2nd ed. 1981).
- Cunliffe, B.W. and Rowley, T. (ed.) 1976: *Oppida: the beginnings of urbanization in temperate Europe* (BAR Supp. Ser. 11, Oxford).
- Delibes, G. and Fernández Manzano, J. 1990: Relaciones entre Cogotas I y el Bronce Final Atlántico en la Meseta española. In Chevillot, C. and Coffyn, A. (eds), *Le Bronze Atlantique. 1er. Colloque de Beynac, 1990*, 203–12.
- Delibes, G. and Romero, F. 1992: El último milenio a.C. en la Cuenca del Duero. In Almagro-Gorbea and Ruiz Zapatero (eds) 1992, 233–58.
- Drack, W. 1957: *Repertorium der Ur-und Frühgeschichte der Schweiz 3. Die Eisenzeit der Schweiz* (Zürich).
- Esparza, A. 1979: Nuevos castros con piedras hincadas en el borde occidental de la Meseta. *Actas do Seminario de Arqueología do Noroeste Peninsular 2* (Guimarães), 71–86.
- Esparza, A. 1983: Sobre el límite oriental de la cultura castreña. *II Seminario de Arqueología do Noroeste Peninsular, Santiago de Compostela, 1980* (Madrid), 103–19.
- Esparza, A. 1987: *Los castros de la Edad del Hierro del Noroeste de Zamora* (Zamora).
- Fatás, G. 1980: *Contrebia Belaisca II. Tabula Contrebiensis* (Zaragoza).
- Fernández Gómez, F. 1986: *Excavaciones arqueológicas en el Raso de Candeleda* (Avila).

- Fernández González, J.R. 1978: *Etnografía del Valle del Ancares* (Santiago de Compostela).
- Fernández Martínez, V. 1988: El asentamiento ibérico del Cerro de las Nieves (Pedro Muñoz, Ciudad Real). *I Congreso de Historia de Castilla-La Mancha* (Ciudad Real), 359–69.
- Fernández Rodríguez, M. et al. 1993: Alarcos. El cerro sagrado de la Oretania. *Revista de Arqueología* 152, 36–43.
- Fita, F. 1907: Las ocho villas del Valle de Canales. *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 50, 359–70.
- Fortea, J. and Bernier, J. 1970: *Recintos y fortificaciones ibéricas de la Bética* (Salamanca).
- Frey, O.H. 1984: Die Bedeutung der Gallia Cisalpina für die Entstehung der Oppida-Kultur. *Studien zur Siedlungsfragen der Laeènezeit* (Veröf. vorgesch. Seminars Marburg 3, Marburg), 1–38.
- Fuentes, A. 1993: Las ciudades romanas de la Meseta Sur. *La ciudad hispanorro-mana* (Madrid), 160–89.
- Galindo, F. 1954: La cabaña ideal de la Sierra de Albarracín. *Teruel* 11, 111–64; 12, 5–61.
- Garcés, I. et al. 1991: El sistema defensivo de 'Els Vilars' (Arbeca, Les Garrigues). *Simposi Internacional d'Arqueologia ibèrica, Manresa 1990* (Manresa), 183–97.
- García Fernández-Albalat, B. 1990: *Guerra y religión en la Gallaecia y la Lusitania* (La Coruña).
- Gargallo, A. 1984: *Los orígenes de la Comunidad de Teruel* (Teruel).
- González Tablas, F.J. 1987: Transición a la Segunda Edad del Hierro. *Zephyrus* 39–40, 49–57.
- González Tablas, F.J., Arias, L. and Benito, J.M. 1986: La relación relieve/sistema defensivo en los castros avulenses (finales de la Edad del Bronce — Edad del Hierro). *Arqueología Espacial* 9, 113–26.
- Gorrochategui, J. 1985: En torno a la clasificación del Lusitano. *Actas del IV Coloquio sobre Lenguas y Culturas Paleohispánicas* (Vitoria), 77–91.
- Harbison, P. 1968: Castros with chevaux-de-frise in Spain and Portugal. *Madridier Mitteilungen* 9, 116–47.
- Harbison, P. 1971: Wooden and Stone chevaux-de-frise in Central and Western Europe. *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 37, 195–225.
- Hernández, F., Rodríguez Lopez, M^a.D. and Sánchez-Sánchez, M^a. 1989: *Excavaciones en el castro de Villasviejas de Tamuja* (Mérida).
- Hernández Vera, J.A. 1982: *Las ruinas de Inestrillas. Estudio arqueológico* (Logroño).
- De Hoz, J. 1963: Hidronimia antigua europea en la Península Ibérica. *Emerita* 31, 227–42.
- De Hoz, J. 1986: 'La epigrafía celtibérica'. *Reunión sobre Epigrafía Hispánica de época Romano-Republicana* (Zaragoza), 43–102.
- Kornemann, E. 1939: Oppidum. *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Klassisches Altertumwissenschaft* 18,1, 708–26.
- Lenertz-De Wilde, M. 1991: *Iberia Celtica* (Stuttgart).
- Llanos, A. 1981: Urbanismo y arquitectura en el primer milenio antes de Cristo. *El hábitat en la Historia de Euskadi* (Bilbao), 49–73.

- Llanos, A. 1983: *La Hoya. Un poblado del primer milenio antes de Cristo* (Vitoria).
- Llanos, A., Apellaniz, J.M., Agorreta, J.A. and Fariña, J. 1975: El castro del Castillo de Henayo (Alegría, Alava). *Estudios de Arqueología Alavesa* 8, 87-219.
- López Melero, R., Sánchez Abal, J.L. and García Jimenez, S. 1984: El Bronce de Alcántara. Una dedutio del 104 a.C. *Gerión* 2, 264-323.
- Lorente, L. and Martín-Ballester, L. 1944: *La Norma en el Ordenamiento Jurídico Aragonés* (Zaragoza).
- Lorrio, A. 1993: El armamento de los celtíberos. *Los Celtas: Hispania y Europa* (Madrid), 285-326.
- Madoz, P. 1850: *Diccionario Geográfico Estadístico de España y sus posesiones de ultramar* (Madrid).
- Maluquer, J. 1954: Pueblos celtas. In Menéndez Pidal, R. (ed.), *Historia de España* 1,3 (Madrid), 3-194.
- Maluquer, J. 1958: *Excavaciones arqueológicas en el Cerro del Berrueco (Salamanca)* (Salamanca).
- Maluquer, J. 1987: Problemática general del Hierro en Occidente. *Zephyrus* 39-40, 9-15.
- Mantecón, J.I. 1924: *La comunidad de Santa María de Albarracín. Contribución al estudio de la Historia del régimen municipal español* (Tesis Doctoral mecanografiada, Zaragoza).
- Marqués De Monsalud 1901: Citanias extremeñas. *Revista de extremadura* 3, 11-12.
- Martín, A.M. 1993: El poblamiento en la Comarca de Alcántara (Cáceres) durante la Edad del Hierro. *Complutum* 4, 337-60.
- Martín Valls, R. 1974-75: Una escultura zoomorfa de la cultura castreña del Noroeste en Zamora. *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos* 29, 281-7.
- Martín Valls, R. and Esparza, A. 1992: Génesis y Evolución de la Cultura Celtibérica. In Almagro Gorbea and Ruiz Zapatero (eds) 1992, 259-79.
- Martínez, V. and Arenas, J. 1988: Un habitat de Campos de Urnas en las Parameras de Molina (Embú, Guadalajara). *I Congreso de Historia de Castilla-La Mancha* (Ciudad Real), 269-73.
- Maya, J.L. 1989: *Los castros en Asturias* (Gijón).
- Mena, P., Velasco, F., and Gras, R. 1984: La ciudad de Fosos de Bayona (Huete, Cuenca): Datos de las dos últimas campañas de excavación. *I Congreso de Historia de Castilla-La Mancha* (Ciudad Real), 183-90.
- Misiego, J.C. et al. 1992: Arquitectura popular y etnoarqueología en la sierra soriana. In Baez, J.M. (ed.), *Arquitectura popular de Castilla y León. Bases para un estudio* (Valladolid), 213-38.
- Monteverde, J.L. 1958: Los castros de Lara (Burgos). *Zephyrus* 9, 191-9.
- Moreno, A. 1966: La trashumancia en la Sierra de Albarracín. *Teruel* 36, 49-86.
- Moret, P. 1992: *Les fortifications ibériques de la fin de l'Age du Bronze à la conquête romaine* (Thèse de Doctorat à l'Université de la Sorbonne, Paris).
- Olmo, J. and San Miguel, L.C. 1993: Arqueología aérea en asentamientos vacceos. In Romero et al. (eds) 1993, 507-28.
- Ortiz, P. 1991: Excavaciones y sondeos en recintos tipo torre de La Serena. *Extremadura Arqueológica* II, 301-18.
- Otegui, R. 1986: Aspectos antropológicos de la casa en la Provincia de Teruel. *Cartillas Turolenses* 4 (Teruel).

- Otegui, R. 1990: *Estrategias e identidad. Un estudio antropológico sobre la Provincia de Teruel* (Teruel).
- Palol, P. de and Watterberg, F. 1974: *Carta Arqueológica de España. Valladolid* (Valladolid).
- Parzinger, H. et al. 1993: Die deutsch-spanischen Ausgrabungen in der Bureba (Prov. Burgos). *Germania* 71,2, 315–54.
- Pellicer, M. 1984: La problemática del Bronce Final — Hierro del N.E. hispano: elementos de sustrato. *Scripta F. Jordá* (Salamanca), 399–430.
- Peña, A. de la 1992: Génesis y desarrollo del mundo castreño a la luz de la Arqueología. In Almagro-Gorbea and Ruiz Zapatero (eds) 1992, 373–94.
- Pereira, G. 1982: Los castella y las comunidades de Gallaecia. *Zephyrus* 34–35, 249–67.
- Pereira, G. (ed.) 1983: *Estudios de Cultura Castrexa e de Historia Antiga de Galicia* (Universidad de Santiago de Compostela).
- Pereira, G. 1993: La nueva placa con la mención de la ‘cognatio Magilancum’. In Untermann, J. and Villar, F. (eds), *Lengua y Cultura en la Hispania preromana. V Coloquio sobre Lenguas y Culturas prerromanas de la Península Ibérica, Colonia 1989* (Salamanca), 411–24.
- Pinedo, L. 1963: Problemas y hábitos alimenticios en la provincia de Teruel. *Teruel* 30, 223–34.
- Raddatz, K. 1969: *Die Schatzfunde der Iberischen Halbinsel* (Madr. Forsch. 5, Berlín).
- Ralston, I.B.M. 1992: *Les encentes fortifiés du Limousin* (DAF 36, Paris).
- Real Academia Española 1956: *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* (18th ed., Madrid).
- Rodríguez Díaz, A. 1989: La Segunda Edad del Hierro en la Baja Extremadura: problemática y perspectivas en torno al poblamiento. *Saguntum* 22, 165–224.
- Romero, F. 1991: *Los castros de la Edad del Hierro en el Norte de la provincia de Soria* (Valladolid).
- Romero, F. 1992: Arquitectura de pieára y barro durante la primera Edad del Hierro. In Baez, J.M. (ed.), *Arquitectura popular de Castilla y León. Bases para un estudio* (Valladolid), 175–211.
- Romero, F. and Jimeno, A. 1993: El valle del Duero en la antesala de la Historia. *Los Celtas: Hispania y Europa* (Madrid), 175–222.
- Romero, F., Sanz Minguez, C. and Escudero, Z. (eds) 1993: *Arqueología Vaccea. Estudios sobre el mundo prerromano de la Cuenca Media del Duero* (Valladolid).
- Romero Masiá, A. 1976: *El hábitat castreño* (Santiago de Compostela).
- Ruiz-Gálvez, M. 1986: El mundo celtibérico visto bajo la óptica de la ‘Arqueología Social’. *Kalathos* 5–6, 71–106.
- Ruiz-Gálvez, M. 1991: La economía celtibérica. *Los Celtas en la Península Ibérica (Extra Revista de Arqueología)* (Madrid), 72–5.
- Ruiz Zapatero, G. 1985: *Los Campos de Urnas del NE. de la Península Ibérica* (Tesis Doctoral Universidad Complutense 83/85, Madrid).
- Ruiz Zapatero, G. 1995: Las Cogotas: the roots of urbanism in Iron Age Iberia. In this volume, 209–35.
- Ruiz Zapatero, G. and Llorio, A. 1988: Elementos e influjos de tradición de

- 'Campos de Urnas' en la Meseta sudoriental. *I Congreso de Historia de Castilla-La Mancha* (Ciudad Real), 257-67.
- Ruiz Zapatero, G., Lorrio, A. and Martín Hernández, M. 1986: Casas redondas y rectangulares de la edad del Hierro: aproximación de un análisis comparativo del espacio doméstico. *Arqueología Espacial* 9, 79-112.
- Sacristán, J.D. 1989: Vacíos vacceos. *Arqueología Espacial* 13, 77-89.
- Sánchez Gómez, L.A. 1991: *Sayago. Ganadería y comunalismo agropastoril* (Zamora).
- Sánchez Palencia, F. and Fernández Posse, M.D. 1987: Vivienda y urbanismo en la Asturias interior: La Corona de Corporales. *Zephyrus* 39-40, 375-85.
- San Miguel, L.C. 1993: El poblamiento de la edad del Hierro al occidente del valle Medio del Duero. In Romero *et al.* (eds) 1993, 21-65.
- San Valero, J. 1966: *Monte Bernorio. Aguilar de Campoo (Palencia)* (Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España 44, Madrid).
- Schmidt, K.H. 1985: A Contribution to the identification of Lusitanian. *Actas del III Coloquio sobre Lenguas y Culturas Paleohispánicas, Lisboa 1980* (Salamanca), 319-41.
- Schüle, W. 1969: *Die Meseta-Kulturen der Iberischen Halbinsel* (Madr. Forsch. 3), Berlin.
- Schulten, A. 1914-31: *Numantia I-IV* (München).
- Schulten, A. 1942: Castros prerromanos de la región Cantábrica. *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 46, 1-16.
- Silva, A.C.F. da 1986: *A Cultura Castreja no Noroeste de Portugal* (Paços de Ferreira).
- Simò, V.L. 1970: Derecho agrario en el Fuero de Teruel. *Teruel* 45-46, 15-79.
- Soares, J. and Silva, C. Tavares da 1973: Ocupação do periodo proto-romano do povoado do Pedrão (Setubal). *Actas II Jornadas Arqueológicas da Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses I* (Setúbal), 245-305.
- Solier, Y. 1976: Pech-Maho oppidum prerromain (VIe-IVe s. av. J.-C.) *IX Congrès UISPP. Livre guide de l'excursion C3*, 253-62.
- Taracena, B. 1929: *Excavaciones en las provincias de Soria y Logroño* (Memorias de la Junta Superior de Excavaciones y Antigüedades 103, Madrid).
- Tierney, J.J. 1960: The celtic Ethnography of Posidonius. *Proc. Roy. Irish Ac.* 60, 189-275.
- Tovar, A. 1985: La inscripción de Cabezo das Fraguas y la lengua de los lusitanos. *Actas del III Coloquio sobre Lenguas y Culturas Paleohispánicas, Lisboa 1980* (Salamanca), 227-53.
- Ugartechea, J.M., Llanos, A., Fariña, J. and Agorreta, J.A. 1971: El Castro de las Peñas de Oro (Valle de Zuya-Alava). *Investigaciones Arqueológicas en Alava, 1957-1968* (Vitoria), 217-62.
- Untermann, J. 1975: *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum I. Die Münzlegenden* (Wiesbaden).
- Untermann, J. 1987: Lusitanisch, Keltiberisch, Keltisch. *Actas del IV Coloquio sobre Lenguas y Culturas Paleohispánicas, Vitoria 1985*, 57-76.
- Valiente, J. 1984: Pico Buitre (Espinosa de Henares, Guadalajara). La transición del Bronce al Hierro en el Alto Henares. *Wad-Al-Hayara* 11, 9-58.

- Vicente, J.D., Punter, M.P., Escriche, C. and Merce, A.I. 1991: La Caridad (Caminreal, Teruel). *La casa urbana hispanorromana* (Zaragoza), 81-129.
- Vilá Valentí, J. 1952: El paisaje humano de la sierra de Albarracín. *Teruel* 7, 25-94.
- Villaronga, L. 1979: *Numismática antigua de Hispania* (Barcelona).

MARTÍN ALMAGRO-GORBEA

Departamento de Prehistoria, Universidad Complutense, E-28040 Madrid

From hillforts to oppida in 'Celtic' Iberia

The hillforts or 'castros' of 'Celtic' Iberia are essential to our understanding of the socio-cultural evolution of the central and western parts of Iberia. They developed in an ancient polymorphous Late Bronze Age 'proto-Celtic' substratum which during the first millennium BC evolved into proto-urban cultures with indirect Mediterranean influences diffused through the Turdetanians and Iberians. These give rise to *oppida* and *civitates* in the third century BC in order to control broader territories, characteristic of the Celtic peoples which confronted and were absorbed by Rome. However, some of these structures persist until the present day in marginal areas and in the communal traditions of the Meseta.

De castros a oppida en la Iberia céltica

Los asentamientos fortificados en altura o 'castros' de la Iberia celtica son esenciales para nuestra comprensión de la evolución socio-cultural de las zonas central y occidental de Iberia. Estas se desarrollaron a partir de un antiguo substrato polimorfo proto-céltico de la Edad del Bronce Final, que durante el primer milenio a.C. evolucionó en culturas proto-urbanas con influencias indirectas mediterráneas difundidas a través de Turdetanos e Iberos. Estos procesos dieron lugar a la aparición de *oppida* y *civitates* en el siglo III a.C. para ejercer control sobre territorios más amplios, siendo una de las características de los pueblos celtas que se enfrentaron y fueron absorbidos por Roma. Sin embargo, algunas de estas estructuras han perdurado hasta nuestros días en áreas marginales y en las tradiciones comunales de la Meseta.